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Tributes to

Abraham Lincoln

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources providing testimonials lauding the 16th President of the United States

Writings of, and references to,

Alfred M. Landon

From the files of the Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection

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Landon, Alfred M.

Address By Landon

Former Governor Alfred M. Landon of Kansas addressed the Midday Luncheon club Lincoln day meeting last night on "Emancipators—True and False." Portions of his talk are presented here.

As we look forward to the enormous decisions that all the world must make, in this crucial year of 1940, we are vividly reminded of a single great contrast,—the contrast between Lincoln and the two men who, out of welter and confusion of the last war—have risen to the leadership of Germany and Russia. For both of these men claim that they, too, are "emancipators;" that they, too, have "freed the slaves" and given a set of ideals to the nations over which they rule. * * *

What a different place the world would be today, if the followers of Stalin and Hitler could boast of their generosity, their gentle kindliness, and their humor, and their understanding of democracy! How different it would be for all of us—if the German nation and the Russian nation could, in very truth, look up to a Lincoln! * * *

Hitler and Stalin force the state to live and die for them. Lincoln lived and died for the state. * * *

Ignored Hatred.

No president has been so misrepresented, lied about, and maligned, as was Lincoln. But he met the hatred of others with personal magnanimity. He was the object of hate, but not the instrument through which hatred of others might grow. * * *

Lincoln's humor loosened the minds and helped the understanding of men. * * *

He saw what few statesmen see—that the best peace is not always made on the basis of utter and decisive victory.

To say that patience governed the whole attitude of Lincoln, the war president, is to say only the truth. Unlike Stalin and Hitler, Lincoln did not disregard human suffering. * * *

But perhaps the greatest difference between Lincoln and Stalin and Hitler is in their backgrounds. * * *

Lincoln had a wide experience in politics and government. He had contacts with the courts, with county and local governments. He had participated in many political campaigns. He was, in fact, a practical politician as well as a statesman. Stalin and Hitler's ideas of government are based mostly on street corner pamphlets. Their practical political experience has been only as conspirators, based on the technique of revolutions, bloody and bloodless. They learned their political ideas in the dark atmosphere of beer halls and cellars. * * *

Lincoln's Understanding.

And with wisdom, and experience, and background, there must be understanding. Understanding of people as individuals—understanding of everything that makes for development of individual responsibility—understanding, in fact, of the principles on which popular government is based. And Lincoln had a real appreciation of individuals as individuals. He was not afraid, as Hitler and Stalin are afraid—of the free individual, either singly or in the mass.

It was this accurate understanding and handling of men that enabled Lincoln to shape the fate of the nation he served. * * *

Many a politician has started with this insight and background, but lost it as he moved on to the state capital and to the national capital. But Lincoln continued to grow, for he never lost the flavor of his early surroundings. * * *

Man Of Vision.

Lincoln's vision embraced more than the immediate problems and dangers of his day. He was concerned about the danger of new powers created in government, in the desire to curb old tyrannies. On one occasion he said: "Is there in all republics this inherent and fatal weakness? Must a government be too strong for the liberties of its own people, or too weak to maintain its own existense?"

That is indeed the menacing question of today. How far dare we go, in creating new powers for the socalled protection of the weak, and what are those new powers doing to the future life of the republic in which Lincoln so fervently believed? The answer depends on just one thing: Do we have a whole hearted belief in democracy, or are we merely paying democracy a casual lip service?

One of our troubles today is that too many people in positions of influence and power do not believe that the man on the street—the average man and woman—has the qualities on which we can build. * * *

Industry, Labor.

Industry must realize that if labor is compelled to fight for its life every step of the way, it can and will only mean guerrilla warfare. And such warfare means creation of new government bureaus, and endowing government with new powers. It must accept the fact that the average man and woman develops under responsibility.

The two dictators, Stalin and Hitler, do not trust the average man and woman. Lincoln did. So must we. Government is stirring up bitterness. Industry is stirring up bitterness. Labor unions are stirring up bitterness. * * *

If the government is to have the confidence of all interests, it must stand for no one interest. It must, with true justice and true impartiality, represent all. And, if we are to remain a republic, we must never lose confidence in the inherent political capacity of each other. Unless that be true—I mean, unless the mass is capable of exercising responsibility, there is no breath in popular government. * * *

Lincoln proved to us that the good thread which runs through the lives of just ordinary persons is the thread, the true principle which binds and ever will bind healthy and peaceful union.

He knew that we must have a genuine confidence in the average man; that we must trust his intellectual integrity; that we cannot lose faith in those qualities in man which we think of as spiritual. For it is these qualities that make nations, that make civilizations, that make all greatness of the human race.

Popular government was born of that faith, and still rests upon that faith.

Landon, Alfred M.

Landon Raps Stalin, Hitler

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Feb. 12.—(Special.)—Ex-Governor Landon of Kansas, in a speech here last night on "Emancipators—True and False," said in part:

"How different it would be for all of us if the German nation and the Russian nation could, in very truth, look up to a Lincoln.

"For what do Stalin and Hitler symbolize to the vast majority of their country?

"They symbolize the cruel, intolerant, lawless, treacherous state.

"They are contemptuous of man's right to worship God. They disregard and ridicule the morality of individual freedom.

"The ideas represented in them have meant death by starvation, death by sword, in concentration camps.

"Lincoln lived and died for the state, while Hitler and Stalin forced the state to live and die for them.

"Lincoln's appeals to the people were never based on their material needs, but on their spiritual needs.

"He was the rare combination of a first rate evangelist and an able administrator.

"Stalin and Hitler kill off merit when it fails to 'yes' them.

"Lincoln tolerated a Secretary of war and a Secretary of State whose differences with him amounted almost to contempt, and in the end won their allegiance and their respect."

Alf. M. Landon
2-13-41

Landon, Alfred M.

The Daily Journal Gazette - Watson, Ill Aug. 27, 1936

WREATH PUT ON LINCOLN TOMB BY LANDON

BY WILLIAM K. HUTCHINSON
(I. N. S. Staff Correspondent)

Springfield, Ill., Aug. 27.—In a solemn tribute to the first presidential nominee of the Republican party, Gov. Alfred M. Landon laid a wreath here today upon the tomb of Abraham Lincoln.

Landon left his special train to make the pilgrimage to the Lincoln tomb in Oak Ridge cemetery. He was driven through cheering throngs that lined the streets along the route to the cemetery. Only a Boy Scout, carrying a huge wreath, accompanied Landon into the tomb.

Landon paid a glowing tribute to Lincoln in a speech to a crowd of 15,000 at the railroad station. The nominee spoke with great emotion in eulogizing the "Great Emancipator."

"The honor of your welcome moves me deeply," said Landon. "I am here today to give the homage of a humble heart and receive the inspiration that comes to every pilgrim to Springfield."

The inscription on the wreath laid by Landon on Lincoln's tomb was an extract from Lincoln's second inaugural address.

The government must preserve the source of its income, get a dollar's service for every dollar spent, and prepare for a rainy day, Governor Landon told a cheering throng at Joliet earlier in the day.

The Republican nominee was accompanied across Illinois by a delegation of 100 leading Republicans. The visitors were headed by George F. Harding, national committeeman, and former Senator Otis F. Glenn, now the party candidate for the Senate; Arthur A. Ballantine, former under-secretary of the treasury, and two former American Legion commanders, Hanford MacNider and Edward A. Hayes.

Landon's luck as a "rain-maker" continued. As his train sped westward through Ohio in the early hours of the morning, it rained. It also rained as he passed through Chicago and swung southwestwardly toward the Missouri line.

"I wish I could take some of this rain home with me to Kansas," he observed. "They would appreciate it back home."

A crowd of 3,000 greeted him at Pontiac where the rain had stopped just before his arrival. He was cheered heartily when he declared the nation could not prosper without farm prosperity.

At each stop, Landon urged the election of a Republican Congress and drew a good hand of applause. He specifically urged the election of former Senator Otis F. Glenn to the Senate, praising his previous service in that body.

At Bloomington, Landon paid tribute to former Gov. Joseph W. "Private Joe" Fifer. The 94-year-old ex-governor, who served as a private in the Civil War, was at the station to hear Landon. The nominee again warned against excessive expenditures and waste in Washington and demanded the government live within its income.

Landon, Alfred M.

HOMAGE PAID TO LINCOLN AT STATUES HERE

Wreaths Laid at Union Square, Prospect Park and Cooper Union

LANDON TO BE GUEST AT G. O. P. DINNER

"With malice toward none; with charity for all. . . ."

Abraham Lincoln's 128th birthday anniversary was celebrated today with patriotic ceremonies throughout the city.

Thousands took advantage of the holiday and left the city for a three-day week end.

With most business firms and all banks closed, many of those who did not leave the city participated in ceremonies at the statues of Lincoln in Union Square and Prospect Park.

Landon at Dinner Here

Former Governor Alf Landon of Kansas will be guest of honor tonight at the annual Lincoln Day dinner of the National Republican Club, held at the Waldorf-Astoria.

A delegation from the National Republic Club laid a wreath at the Lincoln statue in Union Square this morning. An hour before, at 9, Boy Scout Troop 472 held a wreath-laying ceremony at the statue.

The delegation from the Grand Army of the Republic postponed its ceremony until Sunday.

Double Celebration

Cooper Union alumni celebrated both Lincoln's Birthday and the 146th birthday anniversary of Peter Cooper, founder of Cooper Union. The busts of Lincoln and Cooper were laid with wreaths this morning by the alumni. Tonight the alumni will hold a dinner at 40 East Forty-first Street.

Airlines and railroads added to their services today. The New York Central said it had added fifteen trains to its regular schedules. The Pennsylvania Railroad reported increased traffic because of persons leaving for extended week ends.

Landon, Alfred M.

Landon Sees New Perils

Warning on Crisis Believed Aimed at Roosevelt Court Plan

NEW YORK, Feb. 12. (AP)—Former Gov. Alfred M. Landon of Kansas said tonight national issues in which "the whole future of our country is involved" had been raised of late, and added they should be treated without partisanship.

He did not specifically say, in a speech before the National Republican Club here, to what he referred, but his remarks generally were interpreted as directed at President Roosevelt's proposals to change the Supreme Court.

It was an address of scarcely more than 500 words, perhaps the shortest ever delivered by the 1936 Republican Presidential candidate since he became a national figure.

FUTURE INVOLVED

"When I accepted the invitation to come to this meeting (a Lincoln Day dinner,)" he said, "I planned to make a few informal remarks to you as a Republican talking to fellow Republicans."

"Since then events have occurred in our national life which make it out of place for me to talk on a party basis. The issues raised are greater than any party. They concern the whole of us.

"They are worthy of unhurried deliberation by Congress. They will not wisely yield to partisan discussion either within or without the Congress. The whole future of our country is involved.

AT THE WATERS' EDGE

"Upon these issues I have strong convictions, but I shall not avail myself of this occasion to discuss them further. In the past it has been a boast in this country that politics end at the waters' edge. While this grave matter, which goes to the very foundation of our government, is pending, let us resolve, each and everyone of us, to prove ourselves Americans by doing our best to end politics within the waters' edge."

Landon's omission of any direct reference to Mr. Roosevelt's judiciary plans occasioned some surprise among observers, as did the quite unexpected brevity of the speech.

"It is fitting that we as Americans should gather on each anniversary of Lincoln's birth to pay tribute to him," Mr. Landon said. "For, as his contemporary, Edward Everett, once said: 'National recollections are the foundations of national character.'

MEMORY OF LINCOLN

"And there can be no recollections better fitted to preserve the foundations of our character as a nation than the enduring memory of Abraham Lincoln. He was and remains one of the great moral forces of our national life, and in the final accounting it is the moral force of a nation which shapes its destiny.

"It is always well to remember those simple and fundamental qualities which made Lincoln a moral force—which enabled him to lead the nation through some of its darkest days. He possessed humility. He believed in the combined wisdom of the people. He had abiding spiritual faith.

WHAT LINCOLN KNEW

"Lincoln knew toil with scant return. He knew cold and hardship. He knew want and hunger. He knew the utter weariness of body which came from these. And he knew the dark hopelessness that men feel when brought face to face with the overwhelming odds of nature.

"Those experiences gave him a true humility—for no man can strive with, and know, the great forces of nature without being humble. Nature chastened him. She taught him that she cannot be deceived, or cheated, or cajoled.

"Those experiences gave him an honesty which was a part of his very bone and muscle. He well and fully earned that name of highest tribute—Honest Abe.

"Lincoln was great in character, in the integrity of his civic virtue, in righteous conviction, in his strength to live his beliefs. But underlying all these traits was a deep spiritual faith. Men today need such faith. Without it there can be no enduring security for this, or any nation.

PROPOSAL DENOUNCED

"Men need such faith for the preservation of the freedom for which our government was founded—and for which Abraham Lincoln made every sacrifice."

Senator Bridges of New Hampshire, in a speech which followed that of Landon, specifically denounced Mr. Roosevelt's Supreme Court proposals.

Landon, Alfred M.

Landon's Address on Lincoln

The text of the Lincoln Day address of former Gov. Alfred M. Landon of Kansas before the National Republican Club in New York City follows:

It is fitting that we, as Americans, should gather on each anniversary of Lincoln's birth to pay tribute to him. For, as his contemporary, Edward Everett, once said: "National recollections are the foundations of national character." And there can be no recollections better fitted to preserve the foundations of our character as a nation, than the enduring memory of Abraham Lincoln. He was, and remains, one of the great moral forces of our national life, and in the final accounting it is the moral force of a nation which shapes its destiny.

It is always well to remember those simple and fundamental qualities which made Lincoln a moral force—which enabled him to lead the nation through some of its darkest days. He possessed humility. He believed in the combined wisdom of the people. He had abiding spiritual faith.

Lincoln knew toil with scant return. He knew cold and hardship. He knew want and hunger. He knew the utter weariness of body which came from these. And he knew the dark hopelessness that men feel when brought face to face with the overwhelming odds of nature.

These experiences gave him a true humility—for no man can strive with, and know, the great forces of nature without being humble. Nature chastened him. She taught him that she cannot be deceived, or cheated, or cajoled. These experiences gave him an honesty that was a part of his very bone and muscle. He well and fully earned that name of highest tribute—Honest Abe.

Lincoln was great in character, in the integrity of his civic virtue, in righteous conviction in his strength to live his beliefs. But underlying all these traits was a deep spiritual faith. Men today need such faith. Without it there can be no enduring security for this, or any nation. Men need such faith for the preservation of the freedom for which our government was founded—and for which Abraham Lincoln made every sacrifice.

When I accepted the invitation to come to this meeting I planned to make a few informal remarks to you as a Republican talking to fellow Republicans. Since then events have occurred in our national life which make it out of place for me to talk on a party basis. The issues raised are greater than any party.

They concern the whole of us. They are worthy of unhurried deliberation by the Congress. They will not wisely yield to partisan discussion either within or without the Congress. The whole future of our country is involved. Upon these issues I have strong convictions, but I shall not avail myself of this occasion to discusse them further.

In the past it has been a boast in this country that politics end at the waters' edge. While this grave matter, which goes to the very foundation of our government, is pending, let us resolve, each and every one of us, to prove ourselves Americans by doing our best to end politics within the waters' edge.

And, with humbleness of heart, let us pray to the God of our fathers that now, as in the days of old, He will be "for a spirit of judgment to him that sitteth in judgment, and for strength to them that turn the battle to the gate."

Landon, Alfred M.
Frank, Dr. Glen

Los Angeles Examiner
Hearst & Express
2/12/37

Landon and Dr. Frank On Air Tonight in Talks on Lincoln

By GENE INGE

The familiar voice of Governor Alfred M. Landon will be heard over KECA-NBC and KHJ-MBS, between 7 and 7:30 tonight as he spe[illegible]at the annual Lincoln Day dinner of the Nati[illegible] Club in New York.

From another Republican-Lincoln dinner, this one from the mid-west, Dr. Glen Frank will be heard addressing the banqueters on the subject of Abraham Lincoln. This broadcast will come over the CBS, including KNX here, at 7:30.

The observance of Lincoln's birthday will be marked by many broadcasts from various stations, both local independent and through network releases.

Mr. Landon's Lincoln Day Address

WASHINGTON, Feb. 12 (AP). — Following is a partial text of the address of former Gov. Alf Landon of Kansas at a Lincoln Day dinner here Wednesday night:

"For if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?"

There must he no uncertain sound for the American people. For the immediate task we are facing, there is only one party in the United States, the party of patriotic, loyal American men and women determined to win this war and to perpetuate the Republic. Patriotism is not confined to political faiths. Past differences sink into insignificance.

Our first and immediate joh is swift and sure defeat of the foreign foe that threatens our national existence. Toward that end each must give everything. Every American has but one grave concern. That Is, to win the war as speedily as possible.

Every citizen owes it to his country to give the President whole-hearted support in his prosecution of the war. Everywhere the American people are doing that today. . . . No matter how long it takes, in the end we shall emerge from the war victorious. . . . All issues are merged into the one overwhelming purpose: Government of the people, by the people and for the people. We cannot allow that vital philosophy of the great leader whose life we commemorate tonight to become a lost issue or a forgotten cause.

Nowhere in the United States is there the fear of defeat. Everywhere there is a will to win. As a corollary of that will to win there is the demand that wherever waste and inefficiency exist, it be exposed and eliminated.

Severe Trials Ahead

At best, it may be a long, long time before we achieve ultimate victory. There is an appalling amount of downright wishful thinking in this country. To many citizens, the war is still remote. The American people listen for the voice of our President, he has not made clear the staggering sacrifices ahead of us. We have never experienced anything like it in our history. Resolute and courageous as the American people are, their mettle will be severely tried in the years ahead. Whether it be the man who fights or the man who works, his dreams will be broken. Life will not be again, in our time, as we have heretofore known it. But we have a job to do, and we are going to do it.

In the end our great and comparatively unspent resources of materials and men must triumph. But that triumph must not be delayed or even threatened by illogical patterns for the future. In our grim hour of trial the orderly and impartial transaction of public affairs must not be disturbed by New Deal planning for a "totalitarian collectivism."

The function of the Republican Party has been well stated many times. It requires absolute devotion to the interests of the nation, and loyal support for all policies that will tend to bring success to our common cause. The minority party has also the duty of honest and fearless discussion and impartial criticism of mistakes and inefficiencies on the part of the Administration. However, I believe the role of the Republican Party is more than that of a critic, or observer, or follow-upper. By leadership of public opinion it has very definitely the duty of pulling and pushing and shoving the national Administration along the road to victorious war production, while preserving fundamentals of our form of government and our way of life.

Anything less than such a loyal and courageous course would be unworthy of the highest traditions of a great political party in representative government.

Lessons Ignored

The test of the ability of a free people to survive is their freedom to point out the weak spots of their leaders, and their ability at the same time to cooperate with them. . . .

The failure that is marking the production of war materials is matched by the failure of the Administration to work out plans for meeting dislocation caused by all-out war. It has ignored the industrial mobilization plan worked out by the Army and naval general staffs. This plan was the result of our experiences during the first World War.

In the absence of some such planning, little business all over the country is being ruined. The little fellow has no one in Washington adequately looking after him, to obtain priorities. The little fellow passes out, unnoticed. He doesn't have a big funeral. He is buried unnoticed in a pauper's grave. . . .

We must prevent, as far as consistent with all-out war effort, making an industrial "dust bowl" of small business all over the country. . . .

Some consideration must be given to the postwar era, if we are to shape the future pattern of America in any semblance of the nation we have known.

In mechanized war, one man in the field requires 14 behind him in production. An army of 5,000,000 American soldiers means that 75,000,000 lives are going to be directly supporting our war efforts. On top of that we have

Therefore the questions which will confront every citizen are: What will the postwar plan be? Can we preserve the Republic in such a situation? Lincoln once said:

"It has long been a great question whether any government, not too strong for the liberties of its people, can be strong enough to maintain its existence in great emergencies."

The Weapon of Economy

The answer is that we must see that our Government is strong enough to meet this crisis without being too strong for the liberties of the people.

The problems are so vast and the unknown and variable factors are so great that we can only take each job as it confronts us. That is, to lop off all unnecessary governmental expenses. As individuals we must lop off personal expenses, tighten up our belts and get as close to personal selfsufficiency as possible. . . .

If we can get people to the point where they are ready for the duration of the war to give up our present high standard of living and batten down the hatches, lop off all the unnecessary features of government, we shall have taken the first step toward erecting a bulwark behind which we can outlast and defeat the Axis powers. Furthermore, it will be a safeguard against a postwar "totalitarian collectivism" of forced obedience to the state.

Every normal department of government, from the township to Washington, is overstaffed. The Congress and the Administration should reduce every nonmilitary appropriation at least 25 per cent. . . .

To curb inflation, the national Administration should remove at once all the existing inflationary policies that are holdovers from its early days.

Proud of Program

The record shows the Republican minority in Congress is fulfilling the patriotic obligation it owes the country in loyally supporting our war efforts. It is striving to see that these efforts are carried out with the least waste of public money and manpower. It has fought hard to protect the interests of small business. . . .

Press dispatches say that Washington viewed the President's blueprint of war production as

competent and unskillful leadership, at home, or on the battlefield. That means a waste of the nation's blood, and needless sacrifice on the part of men in the armed forces.

In this great national effort we might well take a leaf from the book of our English cousins. Their determination to win ultimate victory never changes. But they do change leaders, in the field, or at home, whenever bungling management of their wars endangers military success.

There is deep concern among observant citizens at our unpreparedness, despite all the appropriations by the Congress for our armed forces. Added to that anxiety there is a growing anger at the weakness in administration of the war funds, as revealed by the stinging unanimous report of the ten United States senators of the Truman Committee.

Politics Can Be Treason

It's only natural for the members of the Administration in power to want to save the faces of its friends. . . . Too many bureaucrats believe that they are entitled, under any circumstances, to support of the members of their own party on the floor of the Congress, and of the people of the entire nation.

But in a time of national emergency, such as war, that kind of politics . . . is treason.

All of us are supporting the new organization for production with the fervent prayer that it will make good. The American people have responded to the trumpet sound with all their hearts, their substance, their resources, and their sons—only to be blamed by administrative spokesmen for Pearl Harbor. Incompetent people always try to defend themselves by shifting the blame onto others.

Now the people want these results: Production adequate to the needs of the armed forces, and definite certainty that defense funds are not wasted in nondefense expenditures nor misused because of incompetent management. And, they want also to plug all war profiteering. . . .

The first interest of the American people is winning this war as quickly as possible. Woe to the man or group of men that gets in the way of that objective! . . .

We fervently hope and pray that the chief executive is going to use the great administrative talent of this country without consideration of party and personal prejudice. Our problem calls for the conscientious, unselfish and patriotic service of every citizen. . . .

Just Another Project,

The people are ready for united action. But the sound of their leader's trumpet has been obscured. The babel of conflicting agencies in the nation's capital is creating confusion throughout the nation. Because of a lack of frankness we are not sufficiently aware of what is required of us.

the whole anti-Axis world under our wing. The President says we have "six, eight or ten A. E. F's." We are fighting a mechanized war from the Arctic Circle to south of the Equator. . . .

Totalitarianism at Home

The colossal dislocation this war is going to bring into our lives is so vast no one can comprehend it. . . .

The answer of some of the New Dealers behind the scenes to the problems ahead of us is a planned economy based on use, not of profits and rewards. They are planning it, not as a temporary war measure, but as a permanent system in place of the one we have. Already they are saying that in the new order money will no longer be a yardstick. Well, the only governments we have in the world where the dollar or its equivalent really do not count are Russia, Germany, Italy and Japan. . .

What does the President mean when he suggests to the Congress that "our fiscal situation makes imperative the greatest possible flexibility in our tax system?" When he recommends that the Congress "should consider the desirability of tax legislation which makes possible quick adjustment in the timing of tax rates and collections in an emergency?"

It would appear that this . . . would mean that Congress delegate its authority over the raising and application of taxes to the executive branch of the Government. If that is the correct interpretation, it is, without question, one of the most vicious proposals ever to come before the Congress. It is a necessary feature of the "totalitarian collectivism" that the New Dealers have in mind for the postwar era.

We are not efficiently girding ourselves for battle.

The New Dealers are treating the war as just another political alphabetical project. . . .

Now is no time to try to fit the American people into ideo-

fantastic. That's the foreign view, also. But out in the oil fields and on Kansas farms, we Kansas folks take pride in having a part in a program that staggers the imagination. We believe it can be accomplished. However, if it is to be more than "big talk" we must get to work immediately and work as we never have worked before.

Our pride is stirred and our enthusiasm inspired by the extent of the President's program. We know that all the world is waiting to be shown.

Those in the Axis powers who are attempting to laugh off our military production program are whistling through the graveyard in the dark. . . .

In girding ourselves for the great battle, fortitude must outdo fortitude, in the field and in the home. Not alone those who fight the battles will feel the war.

There is a grandeur about the lofty inflexible spirit of the soldiery of a republic, in the field.

In the consciousness of being in harmony with the immutable forces of Divine Providence, coveting a peaceful and orderly world forever more, we consecrate ourselves to battle, for civilization and for country.

Monday, February 12, 1940

Landon Contrasts Lincoln And Modern Dictatorships

Warns Against Extending Federal Power; Farley Praises Emancipator as Politician

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Feb. 12. — Warning that it was no accident that the autocratic Hohenzollerns of Germany and Romanoffs of Russia produced the dictators that rule those nations today, Alf M. Landon, Republican candidate for President in 1936, declared here Saturday in a Lincoln memorial address that the menacing question in the United States is how far government power may be extended without endangering democracy.

Mr. Landon, former governor of Kansas, spoke at the Lincoln Day memorial exercises sponsored by the Mid-Day Luncheon Club. The enormous decisions which all the world must make in this crucial year, he said, vividly remind present generations of the contrast between Lincoln and the Nazi and Soviet dictators who rose to leadership out of the war of 1914-1918.

Different Beliefs Contrasted

Postmaster General James A. Farley joined Mr. Landon in paying tribute to Illinois' most famous citizen. Speaking on the same platform with the former Kansas governor, the chairman of the Democratic National Committee, termed the great emancipator "a first-class political leader." The two lunched together on the train en route here.

"What a different place the world would be today if the followers of Stalin and Hitler could boast of their generosity, their gentle kindliness and their humor, and their understanding of Democracy," Mr. Landon said. "How different it would be for all of us if the German nation and the Russian nation could, in very truth, look up to a Lincoln!"

Mr. Landon declared he was thankful the United States turns to the memory of men far different from dictators; to "the memory of a man whose life gave proof of his absolute devotion to the theory of the Republic; to the memory of a man who is remembered, not only for the victories won, but for humanity served."

Lincoln's Vision Praised

Lincoln's vision, Mr. Landon continued, embraced more than the immediate problems and dangers of his day.

"He was concerned about the danger of new powers created in government, in the desire to curb old tyrannies," he explained. "On one occasion he said: 'Is there in all republics this inherent and fatal weakness? Must a government be too strong for the liberties of its own people, or too weak to maintain its own existence?'

"This is indeed the menacing question of today. How far dare we go in creating new powers for the so-called protection of the weak, and what are those new powers doing to the future life of the Republic in which Lincoln so fervently believed?

Average Man Scorned

"The answer depends on just one thing: do we have a whole-hearted belief in democracy, or are we merely paying democracy a casual lip service?

"One of our troubles today is that too many people in positions of influence and power do not believe that the man on the street—the average man and woman—has the qualities on which we can build. And, strangely, many of the Marxist academic liberals have the same contempt as the so-called special-privilege group has for the average man.

"Take the terrible history of collective bargaining.

Employers Used Excuses

"The appalling resistance—the awful needless strife — the social waste, of this conflict between employers and employes. All because many employers said we could not deal with labor unions until they showed a sense of responsibility. For many years, this excuse was used to deny women the vote. 'We must wait,' it was said, 'until they show a sense of responsibility.'

"Industry must realize that if labor is compelled to fight for its life every step of the way, it can and will only mean guerrilla warfare. And such warfare means creation of new government bureaus, and endowing government with new powers. It must accept the fact that the average man and woman develops under responsibility."

Confidence Called Need

Lasting prosperity, Mr. Landon said, can come to the country only if all the bitterness and distrust among government and industry and labor is dispelled.

"Only if the government stands for strict and impartial justice, as well as peace, can prosperity be accomplished," he continued. "A partisan government can only accentuate conflict. If the government is to have the confidence of all interests, it must stand for no one interest. It must, with true justice and true impartiality, represent all. We must never lose confidence in the inherent political capacity of each other if we are to remain a republic.

Lincoln Had Confidence

"Lincoln proved to us that the good thread which runs through the lives of just ordinary persons is the thread, the true principle, which binds and ever will bind this republic into a sound and healthy and peaceful union.

"He knew that we must have a genuine confidence in the average man; that we must trust his intellectual integrity; that we cannot lose faith in those qualities in man which we think of as spiritual. For it is these qualities that make nations, that make civilizations, that make all greatness of the human race.

"Popular government was born of that faith and still rests upon that faith."

"Mr. Lincoln is frequently thought of as a war President," Mr. Farley said. "Yet the policy which has made him great in American history was his persistent use of political methods. He was convinced that wherever political measures could be used, force might be avoided. He stuck to this both before, and in the middle, and at the end of the Civ War.

Lincoln's Politics

"Politics, as he practiced it, wa a means by which people ar brought to agree on a line of ac tion; brought to agree in number great enough so that the polic can be carried out. He was n stranger to all of the means tha were used at the time. They were in fact, much the same means a those which are used today. Poli tics has not changed in the past 80 years except that, I really be lieve, it is cleaner and less devious today than it was then.

"It seems to me at least pos sible that if Lincoln had taken of fice immediately upon his election in November, 1860, instead of having to wait until March of 1861 the Civil War might possibly have been avoided. The reason I think so is this:

"Passions were running high in 1860, and the only chance of avoiding the Civil War lay in bringing together, by political methods, the moderates both of the North and of the South.

President Handicapped.

"But during the months between election and inauguration a President-elect cannot do very much to guide political movements. He is obliged to leave the hold-over President as free as he can, and President Buchanan seemed obviously unable to handle the situation.

"Lincoln was doing his best to see that the extremists in the North did not force matters to an impossible point, and he was trying, so far as he could, to establish contact with the more thoughtful Southerners, who realized the dangers which would come from forcible uprising.

"No one can prove an historica "might have been"; but having ha some contact with politics, I reall wonder whether Lincoln's ver great gifts in handling politics an politicians might not have bee able to bring about a solution b political methods instead of by wa

Extremists Mistaken

"The Southern group who felt s bitterly obviously were sincere, an thought they knew what they wer talking about; and yet they wer dead wrong, and history proves it Those Northern extremists wh thought Lincoln was a flounderin weakling were equally mistaken Because he did not press for im mediate reform, they believed him a failure. On one occasion the New York Times actually proposed to replace him with a dictator. Today, history has shown that they were as wrong as their Southern counterparts.

"All of us may realize that we not always know the whole truth, and that sometimes it is wise to suspend judgment. All of us, in time, may even learn to feel that the men who are trying for a common agreement are usually safer guides than the men who are trying to make divisions or stir up hostility.

"As a man, I think the use of hatred, and of intolerance, and of evil stories, is plain wrong. As a man in active politics, I have an added dislike of that kind of tactics. The reason is simple. These weapons make it impossible for men ultimately to agree; while it is my job in politics to try to find ways by which they can agree.

"Lincoln's doctrine was that democracy would be impossible if nobody ever agreed, and particularly if a minority felt that it could break ranks and go its own way when political decisions had been reached. This is as true now as it was in his time."